The Commonweal

January 21, 1949

THE LIBRARY ... SEMINARY CARTHAGE, OHIO

Cardinal Mindszenty

Lily Doblhoff

College Education and the Negro

Lafe Franklin Allen

VOLUME XLIX 15c NUMBER 15

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Church candles of every variety...

MACK-MILLER
candles of character

Day after day, year after year...
for half a century, our candle craftsmen
have produced ecclesiastical candles for every church use
and occasion. Today, as in all the yesterdays,
quality is our first consideration.

MACK-MILLER CANDLE CO., INC.
Syracuse 1, New York
New York • Chicago • Boston
In Canada: Niagara Falls, Ontario

For New Subscribers

THE COMMONWEAL, 386 Fourth Ave., New York, N. Y.

Enclosed is $1. Send the next 12 issues to

NAME

STREET

CITY

1/21/49

Next Week—

in The Commonweal

ITALY 1949, by Leo J. Wollemborg, who has recently arrived from the scene and several years in American Army intelligence. His principal realistic query about the Christian Democrats is whether they are merely coasting along. Also the Stage, by Kappo Phelan; the Screen, by Philip T. Hartung; and penetrating reviews of leading current books.

CLIP COUPON OR SEND REASONABLE FACSIMILE

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

The
COMMONWEAL

VOLUME XLIX | January 21, 1949 | NUMBER 15

THE WEEK 363
CARDINAL MINDSZENTY *Lily Doblhoff* 366
COLLEGE EDUCATION AND THE NEGRO *Lafe Franklin Allen* 370
COMMUNICATIONS 374
Our Friend the State—The ACTU and Its Critics
THE STAGE *Kappo Phelan* 376
THE SCREEN *Philip T. Hartung* 377
THE LABOR MOVEMENT *John C. Cort* 378
BOOKS 380
Nathaniel Hawthorne—The Portable Hawthorne—The Letters of Edgar Allan Poe—F.D.R.: His Personal Letters, Vol. II—Made in America—New Directions 10

THE COMMONWEAL *is indexed in the Reader's Guide, Catholic Periodical Index and The Guide to Catholic Literature Founded by the Calvert Associates, Inc., in 1924 with Michael Williams as President and Editor.*
Published weekly and copyrighted 1949 in the U.S.A., by The Commonweal Publishing Co., Inc., 386 Fourth Avenue, New York 16, N. Y. MUrray Hill 3-9685. Entered as second-class matter February 9, 1934, at the Post Office at New York, N. Y., under the Act of March 3, 1879. U. S. and Canada $7 a year. Foreign $8. Single copies 15c.

EDWARD S. SKILLIN, *Editor*
PHILIP BURNHAM, *Executive Editor*
EDWARD F. MEAGHER, *Assistant Editor*

Associate Editors:
John C. Cort, Anne Fremantle, Gregory Smith
Kappo Phelan, *Theater;* Philip T. Hartung, *Cinema*

Advertising Manager
John Brubaker

As Malthus Fades

AT TIMES the pendulum swings to such extremes that the wonder is how news stories ever originated which temporarily had the widest currency. Only last fall books and periodicals were vying in predicting the direst sort of starvation prospect for the battered world; today the worry is how to dispose of mounting American farm surpluses. What are supposed to be the real facts and figures this time show that the per-acre yield for corn and cotton in the United States has more than doubled in a decade, with potatoes, wheat, oats and hay in an almost equally upward movement. It is a cumulative result of various scientific advances: hybrid and other improved seeds; better fertilizer; more efficient insecticides and weed-killers; new defenses against diseases; improved farm machinery—and even a solid amount of soil conservation. Yet even these increases in productivity are relatively minor if early press accounts of current experiments are worthy of credence—if the soil actually does hold out.

These reports of increasing abundance coincide with sharp curtailment of American and Canadian farm exports, as Western Europe begins producing a greater portion of its own sustenance and Poland and Hungary prepare to resume this year westward shipments of grain and meat. The President's messages to the Congress clearly recognize the new state of things, calling for an adjustment to "longer range" conditions. His recommendations revive, among others, such watchwords as new uses for farm products and methods of getting surpluses into the hands of the needy. The estimate in Mr. Truman's Economic Report that an annual rise of 1 to 1½ percent in farm production "would provide adequate nutrition for an increasing population" fails to take into account the new productivity.

Barring unforeseen major calamities the only question on the production side is the size of our farm surpluses. (On the foreign scene there is still the grim estimate that the Orient has only half enough rice—and American growers are curtailing their 1949 production — but over the "longer range" even these tragic deficiencies can presumably be met.) Is it not time to question the prevailing plan for commodity supports—with the government supplying the storage facilities, 90 percent parity loans on the commodities stored, and all that goes to serve primarily as a prop to large-scale, one-crop farming? Certainly the need for production no longer justifies it. Over the "longer range" the national economy, our soil resources and life in our rural areas would be better off under a national policy which, instead, would encourage diversified, smaller-scale farming of the family type.

Ite Ad Joseph

"WE NO longer believe," declared 379 clergymen "that God wills the prolongation of physical torture for the benefit of the soul of the sufferer." And these 379 pastors of souls called on the New York State Legislature to pass a bill "to permit voluntary euthanasia for incurable sufferers, upon receipt of a signed and attested petition from the sufferer, and after the investigation of the case by a medical committee designated by the court." The report of this petition was printed on the Feast of the Epiphany, the day when the Church celebrates the arrival of three wise men bringing significant gifts to God: gold, for our love and for the glory of our love; myrrh for our work and suffering; frankincense for our final consummation. So the Church has traditionally interpreted their offerings.

We disagree with the 379 signatories, for we have never believed that God willed the prolongation of physical torture. We don't believe He willed its existence, let alone its continuance. He permitted us to will it all: illness, as evil, as death itself, is as really and truly our inherited and accumulated fault as an unjust atomic bombing is our actual fault. But though we have willed physical torture, and the death it prefaces, upon ourselves, we should not continue to do so. The life we sinned against at our first turning away

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

from the giver, wherever it was, whenever it was, is not ours to toss back into His teeth, when we are bored with it, or cannot take it any more.

Human life, the nineteenth century agnostics used to say, is sacred; human beings, says the atheist Russian preamble to the Declaration of Human Rights, are born equal in rights and dignity. How hollow these phrases are is shown by the plea of the 379. Only the stallion-perfect physical life is sacred. A "sufferer from an incurable disease, who is a burden to himself and his family" is equal neither in dignity nor rights to a non-sufferer. A young man seeks to jump from the Empire State; he is restrained from his suicide by a stalwart, and scolded by society; another, dying of cancer, is urged to commit suicide by 379 clergymen.

How long do we remain equal in rights and dignity, if we are born into such a society? If our physical condition determines the value of our life, how far are the 379 from the Nazi mercy-hospitals, where the mentally defective, the incurably insane, and the racially impure, found release? "Bills, urging the legalization of the killing of persons who are defective or ailing *in one way or another,* have been offered from year to year in Albany." But never before this Epiphany have they been sponsored by 379 clergymen.

We do not believe God wills the prolongation of pain because we do not believe He willed its incipience. But we can and do believe He wills the prolongation of life, so long as He lends it. And we believe that as we can offer life's work and its golden glory, so we can offer the bitterness of its suffering, and its final consummation, as, and in, sacrifice. For the Epiphany commemorates not only the presentation of man's gifts to God, but also Christ's baptism, the washing away, by God, in the human person of Christ, of all the guilt of the garden; and also the miracle of Cana, by which He turned water into wine—tranforming symbolically, the very substance of our gifts, and pouring them back to us.

Only the instinctual, primitive will-to-live makes us hold on to the last days and hours that so distress the 379. And these are our last offering as they are our last acceptance, of life given and received. And may St. Joseph, patron of the dying, then pray for us—and for the 379.

Mr. Truman's Stellar Budget

IN HIS budget message to Congress, Mr. Truman has mentioned the sum of $42,000,000,000. Off-hand, the best we can say is that this is a good, round figure: to us it's something like saying that the moon is 238,857 miles from the earth, or that light travels 6,000,000,000,000 miles a year—true, perhaps, but we can't quite get the picture in focus. The budget of the modern state is a matter for experts and, happily, the experts have reduced their arithmetic for us this much, at least: out of every budget dollar, 34 cents or $15,900,000,000 in all, will go to the military.

Reading this, we were reminded of last month's report published by the Eberstadt Committee, a group which has just given the whole military establishment a thorough going-over. The report revealed some sloppy book-keeping: the Army was unable to account for the whereabouts of a few thousand tanks, a misplaced figure threw a budget estimate off $30,000,000, there was a request for funds to repair materiel that couldn't be found—in short, said the Committee: "The military budget needs a major overhaul."

And these days overhauls are expensive, too. One item in Mr. Truman's budget is this: "a management improvement fund of $1,000,000"; the purpose of this is to cut Government costs, to achieve economies "which should be obtained through more effective organization and conduct of Government operations." All tangled up in itself, the modern state has nothing to do but pay for its own surgery bills. Even if it takes another million dollars to overhaul the military budget and to eliminate military wastefulness, a million really isn't much. *That* is a figure we have no trouble with anymore at all.

The Outstretched Fist

THE magazine, *The Nation,* features on its January 8 cover an article by Ruth Karpf, called "Cardinal Mindszenty's Arrest." The article concludes with these sentences: "The elimination from the political scene of Mindszenty and the Horthy-tainted Catholic hierarchy which he represents would no doubt weaken the political power of the church, and with it all organized opposition to the present government. But it would give Christianity in Hungary a chance to survive."

This whole article has many features about it which regularly appear in *The Nation* and prove that periodical to be a positive enemy of Christianity and the Catholic Church. It misrepresents and interprets in a smear the social, economic and political position and influence of Cardinal Mindszenty, a prisoner, and of the Catholic Church. It supports the development of Stalinist Communism in Hungary by washing one hand of the problem of justice and legality, and by using the other hand to make a not very subtle gesture condoning the process of totalitarian, communist dictatorship — "no doubt weaken the political power of the church and with it *all organized opposition* to the present government"; and before that fourteen paragraphs building up the government as simply protecting itself from "reaction and the return to a feudal past they abhor."

More immediately important in America is a

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

major theme of *The Nation* running through this article, depriving "religion" of any explicit or understood sphere in man's life, while attacking the very existence of religious considerations and loyalties in a whole series of crucial human situations. *The Nation* gives religion no position in man's life; it positively attacks it in many spheres where a believing person thinks the religious view, religious motivation, religious membership the most important thing.

This stupid article about Cardinal Mindszenty actually kills itself internally. It uses a Father Balog to impress indirectly the "reactionary" character of the Cardinal. And then it endorses Father Balog's judgment, "that basically the people who run Hungary today, are, if not anti-Christian, certainly non-Christian, and will do their utmost to inculcate in youth a Marxist-materialist outlook on life." But this bland admission comes after several pages insisting with Goebbelesque repetition that the whole Mindszenty affair is a "political battle" with no relation to religion. The Cardinal is accused of using Hungarian religiousness "to further a cause which everyone in Hungary knew to be purely political." His terms to the Government "had nothing to do with freedom of worship. A daily paper for the church was one of them. Immediate compensation for church holdings . . . . Government withdrawal of the school bill was a third." For *The Nation,* education, the material means for religious life and worship, and information and opinion, have nothing to do with freedom of religion! Opposition of a bishop to the basic effort "to inculcate in youth a Marxist-materialist outlook on life" is intolerable clerical interference in secular politics! I am afraid (with the Anglican Archbishop Temple, wasn't it?) that God is concerned with far more things than what *The Nation* classifies as religious.

The Nation increasingly acts as one of those purportedly Liberal-Social-Democrat organs with which a Christian, or Jew, or any other adherent to a transcendent religion, cannot cooperate prudently and conscientiously. From a certain Christian Democratic side, the argument for some kind of "Third Force" or United Front in which they should cooperate with non-Stalinist, liberal Social Democrats is based on the idea that the socialists in question advocate a politics which would advance the humanist, natural virtues of society, while simply being negative as far as supernatural affairs are concerned. (There is, of course, the argument about whether the Socialist politics as most material strategy and policy is any good.) Unhappily, *The Nation* seems to demonstrate that in their group, their variety of social-democratic liberalism has a *positive* supernatural, religious, ideological as well as practical content, which is positively antagonistic to Christianity.

Frontpage, "Magazine of the Newspaper Guild of New York," in its January number made us hark back to *The Nation's* Paul Blanshard assault on Christianity. The Newspaper Guild in New York is now controlled by the virtuous, "Right Wing" of the union, and their paper this month gives three columns on the eleventh page to member Jerry Tallmer of the *Nation* Unit to praise his employer and the Blanshard articles and to dismiss condescendingly the *Commonweal* (which also has its Guild Unit) and to lash the New York City school authorities for stopping subscriptions to *The Nation* for public school libraries. This action in their marvelous parlance is "censorship" and, no doubt, Nazi suppression.

There is no room here to show how the Blanshard articles fit the pattern of positive enmity, antagonism, distortion and insult of Christianity, which, innocently or not, they do. (The thing is to eliminate Christianity and put an anti-Christian soul and mind and body, personal and social, in its place.) A highly "liberal" committee has formed to beat the school superintendents for removing the evil *Nation* advocacy of an evil quasi-religion from a few school libraries: "107 educators, civic leaders, writers, publishers and clergymen, including such men and women as Thomas Mann, Lewis Mumford, Eleanor Roosevelt, Sumner Welles, and Herbert H. Lehman . . . . There are Catholics among us. . . ." Jerry Tallmer tells us that Tom Murphy "sent a letter of protest to the superintendents." Tom Murphy is the newly elected Executive Vice President of the New York Guild, backed by the anti-Stalinists and supported vigorously and piously by the Association of Catholic Trade Unionists.

A more sensible problem is why was *The Nation* ever subscribed to by any library, and especially by any school and public-paid-for library?

The answer probably is that in America the traditional view is that Liberalism, even when given transfusions of positive materialism and Marxism, is supposed to be basically and primarily an advocacy of abstract liberty, essentially a holding to negative values—to prevent people getting kicked around, to oppose domineering, to fight exploitation, to uphold the many freedoms from. Those are genuine values, in themselves, to honor. Most of these 107 signers, Tom Murphy, probably Paul Blanshard, and most likely most of the collaborators with the eminent and ancient *Nation,* still dream themselves into that tradition. But history has gone on and issues have worn away to show their spines and fangs. Times come when there just isn't enough tasteless, neutral water to wash the hands of responsibility from commitment for or against human beings of the stature of Cardinal Mindszenty, or of the religion for which he stands. When the attempt is made now, the hand comes out looking more and more like a clenched fist.

PHILIP BURNHAM.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Cardinal Mindszenty

A primitive Christian heroism in the face of modern collaboration and compromise

Lily Doblhoff

THE ARREST of Cardinal Joseph Mindszenty, Primate of Hungary, is an event that affects not simply a single European country; it cannot even be considered solely from the point of view of Catholicism; it is irrelevant, in a sense, whether this high dignitary of the Church is progressive or conservative—this event involves the basic issues of human rights all over the world. It sets up the problem of breach of promises in political life. This arrest, once again, compels us to look a problem in the face which is the burning problem of a great part of humanity: should one compromise fundamental principles in order that these ideals and institutions should *survive,* or, should a person stick with *unbroken* faith to the *essence* of these ideals, even at the risk of imperiling his existence?

Cardinal Mindszenty chose the latter.

He did not want to compromise since he believed firmly, and supported his belief by examples; his belief was that no understanding can be reached with the forces of evil, of tyranny, and that the teaching of Christ, with the profound importance it gives to the individual's soul and the individual's approach to religion, is in fundamental opposition to materialistic theories and Marxist principles.

Besides his own conviction, another interesting feature of the problem focused around the person of Cardinal Mindszenty is that, when taking up this uncompromising attitude which expressed faithfully his own conviction, he seemed to have understood perfectly and to have followed the craving of his whole nation which wanted him to remain as unbending as he was. This attitude of a whole nation, this acceptance of all cruel persecutions while remaining unbending, is a thing that will have to be remembered by all who advocate collaborationism at all cost. This attitude of a small nation proves also that in politics there are few things as important as timing: if at a certain time silent acceptance of facts and of actual situations is wise, there comes a moment when even the simplest people feel a greater need for cleanliness of character, for honesty in politics, than for safety.

I have often been asked why Hungary had become the country where the controversy between religion and communism had become so violent. There are three answers, all answers not usually taken into consideration by the West:

1. Hungary has been, all through her history, an emphatically Catholic country, with a strong majority—70 percent—of her population being Catholic. There was not a single Hungarian one met who did not stress that the nation had made its final choice between East and West when, a thousand years ago, her first King, St. Stephen, did not turn to the Byzantine court or the powerful German Emperor for his crown, but asked for it from Pope Sylvester; by this step, they had accepted forever the spiritual leadership of Rome and the Christian spirit it represented. The Hungarians always prided themselves in being the "country of Mary" and they considered themselves to be a vanguard of Latin and Christian culture.

2. Hungary is the only country under Soviet domination which is neither Slav nor Orthodox, so that both links that can be "built up" by the Soviets are missing. Poland, the other Catholic country behind the Iron Curtain, has a profoundly Catholic tradition too, but her population is Slav so that at least Poles and Russians understand each other in speaking. Roumania, on the other hand, is—as Hungary—a non-Slav country but has a common Orthodox religion with the Russians.

3. Hungary was the only country where, after the first world-war, a short communist dictatorship had had its test. In 1919 Count Michael Kàrolyi, one of the representatives of the present régime too, had passed the hand to Béla Kun, who installed a communist régime that failed after a few months. By this, Hungary alone, of all the other small and medium countries now under Soviet rule, has experienced communism once before and for this reason, when the present "liberating" Soviet troops entered the country, many who remembered 30 years ago did not feel the enthusiasm of some of their countrymen.

It may be that it was also owing to the failure of the 1919 communist experience that Soviet occupation authorities seemed to be more lenient in this country than anywhere else. It seemed obvious that they wanted to win popularity in the country. This could have been achieved fully, even in spite of the violences committed by the first troops, since many believed such violence

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

was the consequence of long months of war and siege and now they hoped that, after Nazi paganism had been defeated, Hungary could start on the road to reconstruction, to strengthened democracy. The country believed in the solemn promises of Allied statements: that the freedom of the individual and of religious life would be restored, that by an equitable land reform a strong bulk of small-landowners could be formed who would build up a country that had been tortured by Nazi and Arrow-Cross terror, and long under siege as a battleground of war.

*

There is no doubt that democracy and progress had very great possibilities in Hungary and the nation could have been brought to believe in the truth of democratic principles which Nazism had frustrated if the promises of freedom put down by the Allies had become reality. But they remained empty words and it was again dictatorship, now under communist emblem, that became reality. This breach of promise is one of the tragic mistakes that all those who fought, suffered, and risked their lives for the sake of a democratic evolution following tyranny will long regret.

Nothing expressed better the hopes and wishes of the Hungarian people than the Pastoral Letter Cardinal Mindszenty addressed to the nation on October 18th, 1945, at the time of the first elections to be held after the end of the war (November 4th, 1945). All those who had hoped that the occupying powers would keep strictly to parliamentary habits profoundly regretted that the Soviet authorities did not allow a Catholic Party to participate in the elections. Notwithstanding this first disillusion, the Pastoral Letter of the Cardinal was still full of hope:

"After the world-war has come to an end and the noise of arms has ceased, now that horrid destruction has been stopped, humanity sees herself confronted by a heavy task. The past full of hatred, of horror and of faults has to be liquidated and a future has to be built up, without shunning work or sacrifices. We, Hungarian Catholics, have no other duties either. We have to solve these problems, the more so as the cruelty of war has touched us more deeply than other countries and we are by this in greater need of a happier future.

"In our former Pastoral Letter we mentioned how, according to our belief, we could liquidate the past full of sins and errors. We want to devote this admonition to the problem of how to build up a much longed-for, peaceful future. We feel it our duty to raise our voice since we seem to have reached an important—maybe crucial—turning point. The Hungarian nation stands at the eve of elections. Much will depend on how the country will express her spirit, her wishes. It is a serious problem of conscience. We do not meddle with the electoral fight, do not take a stand for this or that Party but want to state the principles of equity and justice that all Catholics should take into consideration before voting.

"The future organization of our state-life can be only built up on the basis of democracy. In our former Pastoral Letter we welcomed with confidence the principles of democracy. It has been tyranny that brought Europe war and bloodshed. It was tyranny that went on with the battle when it had become obvious that all further bloodshed was futile. It was tyranny that trampled humanity's most sacred rights for many years, tyranny that despised freedom of conscience and the right of parents to educate their children.

"Democracy wants to liquidate these profound mistakes of tyranny. Not a democracy that puts in the place of a person ruling with limitless power another person with similar powers, not a democracy that puts instead of the egotism and ruthlessness of one group of people, the egotism and ruthlessness of another group. The most important feature and safest pillar of true democracy is that she acknowledges fully the laws of nature which no human power should ever dare to touch. True democracy strives that these rights may be acknowledged and respected. True democracy writes on its banner freedom of conscience, the freedom for the workman to break down unjust slavery. It is at the service of these aims that democracy wants to mobilize all classes of society and also utilize every honest individual. We will be glad if the Hungarian people will be allowed to stand in the ranks and fight for these great tasks of humanity. Our joy will be the greater as this meaning of democracy is in full harmony with the wise principles expressed by our Holy Father, Pius XII, in his Christmas speech of the year 1942 dealing with the future organization of society. We gladly welcomed the statements of the victorious leaders each time they expressed, as the first aim of future democratic evolution, the respect of individual dignity. We firmly believe that these principles could create a better world, we believe that with their aid humanity could better approach its aim.

"The confidence we felt when listening to the statements of the victorious Allies brought us to express in our first Pastoral Letter full understanding for the first signs of Hungarian democracy. We had some anxiety seeing certain events, but we only wanted to see the good that might be expected and we had confidence in the polite words and great promises with which the representatives of the Allied forces expressed their respect for and comprehension of the work of the Church. We hoped and believed that the faults and excesses were only due to the difficul-

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

ties of the first steps of a new system and that these weaknesses would come to an end as soon as life would become normal again.

"Our expectancy was long and patient. We sometimes wanted to raise our warning voice but did not wish to interfere with the evolution of events and did not want to make the upbuilding work of goodwilled people more difficult. But we can not conceal that we see in Hungarian public life many signs in sharp contradiction with the principles of true democracy. We have also to express our anxiety that these facts might run our unhappy and much-tortured country on dangerous paths. We have also to warn Christian electors not to give their vote to a Party that does not respect human law and means new tyranny, new oppression, when, at last, we ought to make up for the sins of the past by an increased respect for human rights."

"We do not want to criticize the agrarian reform itself," the Letter went on, "but the spirit of revenge that is expressed in it, a spirit that promised to pay for the ground taken and never realized this promise. We feel compelled to state, even as regards the reform itself, that it ought to have been better prepared and that the realization lacked equity. The whole population and, first of all the population of the towns, might suffer for a long period because of a solution realized too hastily and under the pressure of passion. In the greater part of the country, men get arrested on the basis of sheer insinuation, individual revenge or mysterious party intrigues, and they don't even know the reason for their arrest. A priest who had been nursed for many years because of poor lungs has been sentenced to hard work in jail only because he protested against the dissolution of a Catholic organization in his village. The head of the Political Police stated that the priests will be deported to Siberia if they go on taking a hostile stand against the régime. It may be that all this comes only from the exaggerated zeal of individuals but these 'errors' happen more and more often and could probably not happen if the government took a firmer stand in this matter, and if the Parties would feel more respect for the law. We would not have come to this state of insecurity if sins were not forgotten too hastily, and the gangsters would not feel safe. To act against this state of things we need and want a government standing on the ground of stricter moral order, of the respect of law and ready to defend the laws of God and Nature.

"We ask you, our brethren, to weigh these words of ours at the eve of the elections. Do not be frightened by the threat of the sons of evil. It is easier to stand up and to suffer threats than to start on a road, along which perhaps people lacking the sense of responsibility want to lead our country. Crude force and tyranny will be the stronger the less opposition they find. It is the way of crude force to expect at first 'only' a vote, while tomorrow you will be threatened to accept slave labor, and after tomorrow you will be led into the madness of war and driven into moral and physical annihilation.

"The memory of the near past is still alive in our soul and we can well remember the tragic events that happened before our eyes. Let us not forget these serious warnings and let us draw the consequences."

*

The result of the elections was amazing, even for those who had believed in the unbiased reflection of the Hungarian people: while Soviet occupation troops were in the country, while the Communist Party enjoyed not only the moral backing assured by the physical presence of communistic Russian troops, and while the communist candidates had at their disposal cars and fuel in unlimited quantity and could, thanks to this, tour the country and speak to the electorate—the cool-headed Hungarian peasant went his own way, listened to propaganda speeches, and in the end the Communist Party got 17 percent of the votes, while the Small Landowner's Party got the absolute majority, that is, 60 percent of the seats.

The nation had unmistakably expressed its wish to stand for a solid, center-minded, democratic régime, against totalitarianism in whatever form it stood. A great sigh of relief went through the country: there could be no doubt that the freedoms promised would be safeguarded and enforced.

The first shock this idealistic belief suffered was in July, 1946, when the government ordered the dissolution of all Catholic Syndicates and all Catholic Youth-Organizations, as for instance the *Emericana* and the *Kalot* (youth organization of the Catholic peasantry). These facts were referred to in the official note of the United States State Department on the violation of the promises made by the Soviet authorities.

The second disillusion came when, in the course of 1946 and 1947, the license for a Catholic daily paper was again and again refused, though different members of the government had promised it repeatedly. The Primate again and again came back to this theme, since before the war there existed two important Catholic dailies in the capital and 16 in provincial towns. The 70 percent of the Hungarian population believed that they might be entitled to have at least one paper, when there was so much talk about the "freedom of the press." Only a weekly was allowed to be published, the official organ of the Actio Catholica, and seeing what tremendous popularity this *Uj Ember* (The New Man) had, the govern-

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

ment, on the list of distribution of printing paper, allotted so little to this weekly that often it had to insert a notice that two pages were missing since it had got only paper for four pages; the paper for the other two pages had been denied at the last minute when it was already in type. In November, 1947, its publication was prohibited for four weeks, since it had published the open letter of Cardinal Mindszenty to the Prime Minister, calling his attention to abuses and breaches of promises with regard to religious matters. The population was amazed that the printing of an open letter, written by the highest dignitary of the Catholic Church and the First Constitutional Personality of the country, could be taken as pretext for forbidding the publication of a paper.

After the leaders of the Smallholder's Party, elected by the people, had been eliminated on the pretense of sham "conspiracies," and had been imprisoned, deported or —if they were lucky— had fled abroad, after the fellow-travellers among the Social-Democrats had voted the suicide of the Party—that is, the fusion of the remaining Socialists with the communists had been decided, and all the former Socialist leaders, old factory workers and workmen-deputies had fled or were sentenced, then the hatred of the communists turned with full violence against the Church, last and unbroken bulwark of resistance against dictatorship.

Cardinal Mindszenty was called "Fascist" and "Nazi," he who had taken an energetic stand against Nazism and who had, at the end of 1944, when the Germans had already occupied Hungary, against the wish of official quarters, visited the ghetto in the territory of his episcopate of Veszprém and had repeatedly visited the internment camp of Nagykanizsa. In a circular to the priests of his diocese he stamped the persecution and deportation of Jews as "horrible murder," and called those who issued these orders "vulgar murderers fit to be pursued by the law." The Nazis finally had enough of this oppositional attitude and came to his residence to imprison him. Bishop Mindszenty put on his full episcopal robes and walked with his captors all the way from his residence to the prison, blessing all those who looked on at this appalling sight. When he reached jail he remembered that he "had already some experience in this matter," since in 1919, under the first communistic rule in Hungary, he, as a young priest teaching religion in the school of Zalaegerszeg, had opposed materialism in the schools and had been put in prison too.

In 1947, the endeavor to flatter and win the churches in Hungary alternated with persecutions, arrests and deportations of priests and nuns. After they liquidated the leaders of the Smallholder's Party, the Reverend Béla Vargha, Speaker of the House and Prime Minister Ferenc Nagy, both of peasant origin and accused of "reactionism," new elections took place. M. Mathias Ràkosi, the all-powerful leader of the Communist Party in Hungary, at a mass-meeting before the elections, assured the electors that "communists had a far-reaching comprehension for the religious sentiments of the nation's great majority and fully understood that the people wanted to practice their religion freely." This was said shortly *before* the elections, but when the communists again got only 20 percent of the votes, they understood that they had nothing to hope for and did not recoil any more from a spectacular and violent anti-religious campaign.

★

It was then that the project for the nationalization of the schools was brought up and tabled before Parliament. Cardinal Mindszenty fiercely fought this bill since he considered it to imperil an essential task of religion, which is to educate the youth. He repeatedly stated that the Church can not resign her right to have freedom of teaching, or be forgetful of Christ's words ordering the apostles to "go and teach all nations." The Primate reminded the government that one of its members, Minister of Education Mr. Ortutay, a communist fellow-traveler, had, in a speech delivered on February 23, 1948, solemnly assured his audience that "the Hungarian Democracy is fully aware of the historic and social spirit alive in the nation and does not intend to take education in its own hands." Hardly four months later, on June 12, the law on the nationalization of schools was passed in Parliament, and by this measure 4,500 schools (out of which 3,000 were Catholic) were taken over by the state and about 15,000 teachers lost their livelihood or had to accept the conditions set before them.

How little the communist declaration to the effect that it was solely the person of the Cardinal that was the cause of the tension between state and Church was exact was clearly proved when the Lutheran Bishop Lajos Ordass was arrested on charges of monetary irregularities, even though the Federation of Lutheran Churches in the United States, as well as Bishop Bergrave and the Bishop of Chichester, with their full responsibility, ascertained that all accusations were false. At the same time priests were deported, and in October, 1948, two wagon-loads of priests were noted in Sopron, at the Austrian border, with direction: East.

The propaganda of the régime focused on attacks against the Cardinal, and in the whole press as well as on the radio, he was called names which were remembered from Hitlerite times. Acting Prime Minister Mathias Ràkosi, in all the

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

speeches he and other communist leaders delivered in the course of the autumn, did not leave any doubt about the government's unchangeable decision to liquidate *totally* religious resistance. The political police turned its chief attention to religious meetings and pilgrimages; processions were forbidden under all possible pretexts. So, for instance, several times railway tickets were not issued on the pretext that an epidemic had broken out in the locality where the religious festivity should have taken place, while, at the same time, a communist meeting took place there undisturbed. Railway officials who had issued tickets were punitively transferred to some far spot of the country; buses did not get fuel for the route of the pilgrimage; groups of the political police had the task of assisting at Masses and sermons and giving detailed reports of the attitude, or the expression on the faces, of parishioners when hearing some "delicate" phrase in the priest's speech.

The dreaded Chief of the Political Police, Gabriel Péter, a former tailor who had come back from Moscow as a Soviet citizen and who is ruler over life and security in Hungary, issued an order, together with Police-Colonel Timàr, and in decree No. 977, 1948, gave order that "all arrested priests should change their ecclesiastic clothes, as soon as they were arrested, to civilian clothes, so that the population should not know that church dignitaries were being arrested so that no unrest should follow these measures."

All this did not prevent the population from attending religious services in increasing number, as if wanting to protest against the restrictive measures. On several occasions when railway tickets were not issued, thousands and thousands started on foot, by night, and often also Lutheran or other Protestant pastors took part in these pilgrimages to protest against the lack of religious freedom.

Cardinal Mindszenty was fully aware that he would not be able to continue his fight for long. On November 18th, he sent a message to the nation, refuting sentence by sentence all the lies brought up against him and ended this message by assuring his persecutors that he forgave them as Christ, his Master, had said: "They do not know what they are doing." His last sentence was: "And now I am calmly awaiting what steps the government will take against me."

He had not long to wait: he was arrested on Christmas Day and taken away from the midst of a few priests, from the side of his mother with whom he passed Christmas. He was taken to Andràssy Street 60, the seat of the Political Police, the Budapest "Ljublanka," to be "questioned." It seems that his strength remained unbroken.

A tragic stop has thus been put to the heroic fight of a man aflame with the faith of the early Christians of the catacombs. Life goes on and probably a "modus vivendi" will have to be found between the Catholic Bishops of Hungary and the régime. But all those who manage to escape from Hungary: peasants, surgeons, businessmen, former landowners, small officials, without difference of religions—Catholics, Jews, Protestants, Lutherans—all agree that the unbending faith and unbroken heroism of the Cardinal meant for the whole nation the "light that shone in the darkness of tyranny" and kept alive in their soul the faith that there is, besides materialism, a *spiritual* flame still burning in the hearts of some men.

College Education and the Negro

Do our colleges and universities practice democracy?

Lafe Franklin Allen

LIKE MANY another ambitious school teacher, 54-year-old G. W. McLaurin is willing to trade time, dollars and mental effort for the professional preference and prestige which go with a doctor's degree in education.

But unlike his fellow-students at the graduate school of the University of Oklahoma, McLaurin is a Negro. Because of this fact it took a Federal Court order last September 29 to pry open the university's doors, slammed shut on members of his race. Three federal judges agreed with McLaurin that Oklahoma's refusal to enroll him, a citizen of the state, in its university violated his constitutional right of "equal protection of the laws" guaranteed by the Fourteenth Amendment.

But while Oklahoma bowed to the letter of the court decision, it tossed the spirit of the order right out the window. Lest mild-mannered Professor McLaurin contaminate his fellow scholars, he was given a private desk in an anteroom adjoining the regular classroom where, by craning his neck and cupping his ears, he could see and

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

hear what was going on in his classes. He was assigned a separate table in the Woodrow Wilson dining hall for his meals. After checking out books in the university library, he was required to return to his seat behind the stacks. While they didn't hang a "for colored" sign on the wall above McLaurin, they might as well have.

McLaurin, if he wishes, can trace the origin of the humiliating conditions under which he is forced to study today to a United States Supreme Court decision of 1896, when a Louisiana law requiring segregation between Negroes and whites was upheld on the theory that segregation, as such, was not discriminatory. This decision was handed down in the case of Plessy v. Ferguson and today has become the cornerstone of the elaborate structure of discrimination against millions of American citizens in schools, places of amusement, public conveyances, lodgings and restaurants, notwithstanding the injunction of the Fourteenth Amendment forbidding a state to deny to any person within its jurisdiction equal protection of the laws.

In an opinion which at best can be described as intellectually dishonest, the majority of our highest Court dismissed the contention in the Plessy case that "the enforced separation of the two races stamps the colored race with a badge of inferiority." Argued the Court: "If this be so, it is not by reason of anything found in the act, but solely because the colored race chooses to put that construction upon it." In a scathing dissent in which the hypocrisy of the Court majority was laid bare, Mr. Justice Harlan, a Kentuckian, read his colleagues a lecture on civil rights which loses nothing in appropriateness or timeliness in the half-century which has elapsed. Declared Harlan:

> "Our Constitution is color blind and neither knows nor tolerates classes among citizens. In respect of civil rights, all citizens are equal before the law. The humblest is the peer of the most powerful. The law regards man as man, and takes no account of his surroundings or of his color when his civil rights as guaranteed by the supreme law of the land are involved. . . . The thin disguise of 'equal' accommodations . . . will not mislead anyone, nor atone for the wrong this day done."

This same "thin disguise of equal accommodations" so bitterly denounced by Justice Harlan is used today by 17 states and the District of Columbia as legal—if not moral—justification for a dual system of education for whites and Negroes.

On paper, racial segregation as practiced in the southern and border states simply duplicates educational, recreational and other public services. Theoretically Negroes and whites are accorded facilities which are "separate but equal." But in practice, according to the President's Committee on Civil Rights, this is one of the "outstanding myths of American history for it is almost always true that while indeed separate, these facilities are far from equal."

For many years following Plessy v. Ferguson the Court was lenient in its construction of what the Fourteenth Amendment required in the way of "equal" accommodations when racial segregation was prescribed by a state. But in 1914 in McCabe v. Atchison, Topeka & Santa Fe Ry. Co., the Court held that an Oklahoma law did not accord equal accommodations to Negroes and whites when it permitted railroads to operate sleeping, dining and chair cars for the exclusive use of one race without at the same time providing similar facilities on demand for the use of the other race. This trend toward insistence upon equal facilities in states practicing racial segregation reached a climax in 1938 in the famous Gaines case, in which the Court ruled that if the state of Missouri chose to provide within its borders specialized educational facilities for citizens of one race, it must make similar provisions within its borders for citizens of other races. This decision left Missouri the choice of two alternatives: either admit Negro Lloyd Gaines to the law school of the University of Missouri, or provide him with substantially equal facilities within the borders of the state. Missouri chose the second alternative, opening a Negro law school in St. Louis as a branch of Lincoln University, the state's institution for higher education of Negroes located at Jefferson City.

And on January 12, 1948, the high Court relied upon the doctrine established in the Gaines case when it ruled unanimously that the state of Oklahoma must afford legal training to 23-year-old Ada Lois Sipuel, honor graduate of Oklahoma's Langston University for Negroes.

*

The Sipuel mandate went further than the Gaines decision in that it ordered the state of Oklahoma to provide a legal education for Miss Sipuel "as soon as it does for applicants of any other group." No such time limit was specified in the Gaines case. The decision was handed down only two weeks before the beginning of a new semester at the University of Oklahoma law school. That Oklahoma could set up a segregated law school within this period equal to the facilities available at the state university seemed impossible. Miss Sipuel's enthusiasm at the prospect of beginning her law studies at the University of Oklahoma after a two-year court battle appeared justified. Even her ecstatic observation, "O, it's a wonderful Constitution," seemed not out of place. But Miss Sipuel's joy was short-lived. On January 17, 1948, the Oklahoma

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Supreme Court ruled that a law school must be set up for her within the state but in accordance with state statutes requiring racial segregation in schools.

Two days later the Oklahoma State Regents for Higher Education established a Negro School of Law in Oklahoma City as a branch of Langston Negro University. Classrooms were established at the state capitol building, and the regents planned to bring instructors from the state university at Norman, 20 miles away, to teach Miss Sipuel and any other Negroes who showed up for instruction. A resolution adopted by the Board of Regents specified that "the course of study and the standards for said School of Law shall be substantially equal to the course of study and standards now in existence at the University of Oklahoma."

When it passed its high-sounding resolution, the Oklahoma Board of Regents was merely following the time-honored custom of other states which operate dual educational systems—as if by administrative or legislative fiat the standards of Negro education could be elevated automatically to those afforded whites. For example, in the spring of 1939 the chairman of the appropriations committee of the lower house of the Missouri Legislature introduced a bill, one section of which read, "The curators of Lincoln University are given the right to make Lincoln University equal to the University of Missouri." And in 1946, when Heman Sweatt was unsuccessfully challenging Texas' ban on Negro students at the state university, Texas officials promptly changed the name of their Negro Prairie View College to Prairie View University to create the illusion of equality of facilities. The fact that law, medicine or engineering courses were not available at the new "university" seemed of little moment. Weren't perfectly adequate courses in blacksmithing, laundering and broom-making available at Prairie View?

Miss Sipuel spurned the jerry-built law school at Oklahoma City. Instead, in a petition filed by her lawyers last January 26, she sought a writ of mandamus from the U.S. Supreme Court to force Oklahoma to allow her to enroll in classes in the state university. She contended that creation of a law school for Negroes did not meet the Supreme Court command; that "one student" could not constitute a law school and that it was "completely impossible" to set up a law school within one week which would conform with the equal-protection clause of the Fourteenth Amendment. On February 16, the Court declined to order the immediate enrollment of Miss Sipuel at the University of Oklahoma law school, ruling that the Oklahoma courts would have to pass on her contentions before it would consider her case any further. The Sipuel case will probably be fought through to the Supreme Court once again, giving credence to Miss Sipuel's wry observation before the recent *New York Herald Tribune* Forum: "It looks as though I may be an old woman before I become a lawyer."

The Sipuel case differs from the McLaurin case. No attempt was made by the state of Oklahoma to set up a Negro graduate school in education.

Although the Supreme Court was adamant in its stand for equal facilities for Negroes in both the Gaines and Sipuel cases, it completely ducked the issue as to whether state segregation laws are constitutional under the Fourteenth Amendment. This begging of the question must seem singular indeed to many thoughtful Americans who, try as they might, cannot conceive the possibility of maintaining equal facilities for Negroes separate from those for whites. The facilities would seem unequal by the very nature of segregation, a fact neatly underscored in the Sipuel case by Justice Jackson, who remarked during the hearing that a law school with one student would not provide "much of a law education."

*

If the Supreme Court in its decisions in the Plessy and subsequent cases felt that it could not go so far as to say that segregation is discrimination, it still could have followed its present rule by a slight change in dicta which would have been infinitely more fair to Negroes than the precedent which now exists. The Court could have said that segregation will be presumed to be discriminatory unless proof is submitted to the contrary. The burden of proving that educational facilities are in fact equal would then rest upon the state which maintained the facilities, rather than upon the Negro citizen, whose limited financial resources often preclude fighting his case through the courts.

Of course, under any such procedure as the one suggested it might be difficult for 11 southern states to explain why they spent from two to seven times as much money annually for the education of whites as for Negroes. It might tax the forensic skill of spokesmen for the dual education states to make clear to the bench why their median expenditures per standard classroom unit per year was $1,166 for white schools and only $477 for Negro schools. Officials of the state of Mississippi might be hard pressed to tell the judges how they expected to provide "equal" facilities for Negro and white pupils when they paid their white school teachers an average of $1,107 each year compared to $342 for Negroes. Even in Washington, D. C., where rhetoric flows like wine, representatives of the Jim Crow school system would possibly spend uncomfortable hours defending to the satisfaction of the courts the

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

proposition that equal opportunity for Negroes and whites existed in our capital when white school buildings have a capacity 27 percent greater than actual enrollment, while in the Negro schools enrollment exceeds building capacity by 8 percent.

The plain, unvarnished truth is that equality of education in the dual education states simply does not exist. Southerners themselves are the first to admit this fact, even if our Supreme Court declines to recognize it. For example, at the annual meeting of the Conference of Deans of Southern Graduate Schools in Birmingham, Ala., on October 29, 1945, one of the resolutions passed recognized "that the graduate programs available for Negroes are far from adequate." In an editorial comment following the Sipuel decision, in which it urged the admission of qualified Negro graduate students to Oklahoma's institutions of higher learning, the *Tulsa Tribune* described the state's all-Negro university at Langston as "understaffed, overcrowded, rundown and ill-equipped." Continued the *Tribune*: "It is stuck out on a miserable hillside as far away from any sizable town as possible. It seems to have been designed to discourage attendance." Denouncing the "deliberate neglect" of school facilities for Negroes in the South, the Jackson, Miss., *Daily News* termed the great disparity in expenditures for white and Negro education as "not only shameful, but in flagrant violation of decisions of the United States Supreme Court."

Admittedly progress has been made in financing Negro schools in recent years. But as Professors John K. Norton and Eugene S. Lawlor pointed out in their *Unfinished Business In American Education,* the present situation represents progress only in that it is not as bad as it used to be. Said Norton and Lawlor:

> "So long as the majority of Negro schools have less than $500 per classroom unit per year [the median expenditure for the unsegregated schools of the north and the west is $2,199 per classroom unit per year] for their support, and so long as hundreds of thousands of Negro children get so little schooling that they fail even to achieve literacy, we have not taken more than the first step in resolving 'an American dilemma.'"

Despite the reluctance of the Supreme Court to come to grips with the question of the constitutionality of racial segregation, its mandate in the Gaines and Sipuel cases that Negroes be given facilities equal to those of whites may ultimately make the cost of maintaining dual educational systems more than southern taxpayers are willing or able to pay. Signs of this trend became apparent in the wake of the Sipuel decision. For example, the application of a Negro for admission to the University of Arkansas law school was approved early this year. Trustees of the University of Delaware voted this year to admit Negroes to certain courses of study not available at the Delaware State College for Negroes at Dover. And last March a committee of six deans from the University of Oklahoma and Oklahoma A. & M. College recommended to the State Regents for Higher Education that Negroes be permitted to enroll in the state's graduate schools.

States which practice racial segregation can gain little financial solace from looking at the experience of the state of Missouri, which, with a Negro population of only 6 percent of its total, has gone to fantastic lengths—and expense—to keep its school system lily white. In addition to its regular arts and science curriculum for Negroes, the state set up a Negro law school in 1939, a Negro graduate school in 1940 and a Negro school of journalism in 1941—all as an aftermath of the Gaines case.

In Missouri, where "a separate but equal" law school has had its longest test, it costs $807 annually for the education of each Negro law student compared to $228 a year for each white law student. The crusading St. Louis *Post-Dispatch,* which revealed these figures after a recent study of the Lincoln law school, declared editorially: "High as the $807 figure is, it stands to go much higher. The Negro law school is housed in inadequate quarters, as the *Post-Dispatch* investigation showed. Already the curators of Lincoln University have asked the Missouri Legislature for $400,000 to erect a law school. Erect such a building and the cost per pupil for the 44 Negros now studying law in St. Louis . . . would jump high above $807 a year."

Admitting Negroes to the University of Missouri graduate schools, concluded the *Post-Dispatch,* was the "one best way" to correct an "expensive error." This "error" of which the *Post-Dispatch* spoke might become infinitely more expensive should qualified Negroes demand, for example, such training as mining and metallurgy, engineering or medicine—courses not offered at Lincoln University.

*

What argument could possibly convince a discerning foreign observer that the United States is an exemplar of equality of rights when in 17 of our 48 states and in our nation's capital some 10,000,000 Negro citizens are not considered fit to associate with white citizens in the acquisition of knowledge? According to the President's Committee on Civil Rights: "No argument or rationalization can alter this basic fact: A law which forbids a group of American citizens to associate with other citizens in the ordinary course of daily living creates inequalities by imposing a caste system on the minority group."

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

The sooner the people of the United States and their Supreme Court acknowledge this manifest fact, the sooner we can urge with integrity the adoption by the rest of the world of the principles of democracy to which Americans have supposedly dedicated themselves.

Whatever may be one's views on the thorny problem of racial segregation, there seems to be only one possible answer to the question posed earlier this year, ironically by Dean Laurence Hasbrouck Snyder of the graduate school at the University of Oklahoma: "If universities, which are supposedly the epitome of culture and learning in our society, cannot practice the principles of democracy and illustrate them by example, where in the world will they be illustrated and practiced?"

Communications

OUR FRIEND THE STATE

Northampton, Massachusetts

TO the Editors: Happy New Year to *The Commonweal,* and congratulations on having stepped into it on the right foot. This is apropos your editorial Our Friend, the State. Sometimes I have thought you were a bit wobbly on the personalist philosophy. Sometimes, as an economist, I have felt a bit wobbly myself. But now, after Truman's report, no more equivocation. There's just all the difference in this world (and the next) between working for an abstraction and working for, or rather in, a concrete human team.

I'm building a little house with a Catholic crew that I've worked with before. We are up to the rafters without a line on paper, working cost-plus, and having a grand time. Soon it will be time for coffee-money (I wonder whether the American building trades know that English tradition). I can't imagine the same spirit animating work for the State; and I've worked for the British State, which is a pretty good one as they go, for many a year. But the craftsmen never worked for the State as they worked for the Building Guild. There wasn't the joy in it.

I hope John Cort will allow me to maintain that the workman's first loyalty is to his producing organization. This has all kinds of dangerous implications, I know; but it is spiritually sounder for all parties to build community on a basis of cooperative production than on a basis of competitive acquisition. The former never denigrates a man; the latter does.

In conclusion, let me quote a very recent statement of my old teacher, Bertrand Russell—you may have noticed the report in the *Times* of Jan. 3rd:

> It may be that the present tendencies towards centralization are too strong to be resisted until they have led to disaster, and that, as happened in the Fifth Century, the whole system must break down with all the inevitable results of anarchy and poverty before human beings can again acquire that degree of personal freedom without which life loses its savor.

Saul among the prophets! And Saul with a challenge to constructive Catholic thought. W. A. ORTON

THE ACTU AND ITS CRITICS

Washington, D. C.

TO the Editors: As one of the "critics" of ACTU mentioned by name in Father George Kelly's recent article, may I make the following friendly comments:

1.) Father Kelly has unwittingly done an injustice to Father Cronin by portraying him—and none too sympathetically, at that—as an enemy or "critic" of ACTU. I have known Father Cronin intimately for more than seven years, and for the past three or four years we have occupied adjoining offices at NCWC. We have always aired our opinions very frankly, and from time to time we have differed with one another very radically, although always very amicably. I cite this fact to indicate that I know whereof I am speaking when I tell the readers of THE COMMONWEAL that Father Cronin has always been and still is a staunch supporter of ACTU. The fact that in his recent book he summarizes certain criticisms which have been leveled against ACTU is, if anything, a tribute to his willingness to face up to both sides of controversial questions; in all fairness, it certainly ought not to be interpreted as a back-handed slap at ACTU. Now that the question has been raised, I happen to recall that Father Cronin, when he was writing the book, anticipated the very type of criticism which has been leveled against him by Father Kelly. All the more credit to him, then, for sticking to his guns. In any event, if there are Catholic "critics" of ACTU, Father Cronin, to the best of my knowledge, isn't one of them.

2.) Father Kelly's article is a valuable contribution to current social thinking. I can only regret that he spoiled it in spots by indulging in personalities as a substitute for reason and logic. Let me illustrate the point. Father Kelly leaves the impression, perhaps unintentionally, that the typical Catholic "critic" of ACTU has been sold a bill of goods by "strong and affluent" labor leaders. In the fuller context in which this little controversy has been carried on for several years this would seem to mean that if Father X doesn't agree with Father Kelly's thesis, that's proof enough that Father X is getting soft—that he's been hob-nobbing too much with the great and the mighty and is out of touch with the aspirations of the average worker. Maybe so. Let's all examine our consciences and answer the question for ourselves. It's good for the soul. But let's also bear in mind, that some of the most intelligent "critics" of ACTU are humble priests and laymen who are just as close to the people and just as allergic to the blandishments of affluent labor leaders as even the most heroic member of ACTU could reasonably claim to be. Let's also bear in mind that there are serious disagreements within ACTU itself on some of the issues which Father Kelly discusses so intelligently and on certain others which he doesn't mention. Take, for example, the perennial question as to whether or not there ought to be a national federation

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

of ACTU chapters. This question—the overtones of which are directly pertinent to Father Kelly's article—has been openly discussed at several national gatherings of ACTU representatives (openly, and not merely in "hotel lobbies and private gatherings"), and the vote has repeatedly been in the negative. And if my memory serves me correctly, this negative vote has been against the better judgment of the parent chapter with which Father Kelly is associated. The men and women who have consistently voted against this proposal are ACTU members. I cite this one example—and both Father Kelly and I could readily think of other examples—merely to indicate that there is room for honest and friendly disagreement about the techniques of Catholic social action.

Some of the most serious criticism of ACTU comes from ACTU members within a given chapter or from one ACTU chapter which happens to disagree with another. This is all to the good. It's just the way it ought to be. I think it perfectly fair to suggest that Father Kelly should have referred to this fact instead of concentrating almost exclusively on outside "critics"—who of course aren't worth arguing with, anyhow, if they are actually as beholden to labor czars as they are sometimes said to be.

3.) Father Kelly appeals to Pope Pius XI's well known insistence that "side by side with these (neutral) unions there should always be associations zealously engaged in imbuing and forming their members in the teaching of religion and morality so that they in turn may be able to permeate the unions with that good spirit which should direct them in all their activity." If Father Kelly's interpretation of the meaning of this directive is the only accurate interpretation, then obviously the argument is at an end, or at least it ought to be. *Roma locuta est.* But Father Kelly is undoubtedly aware of the fact that there are many well-meaning priests and laymen in various parts of the country who insist on the privilege of interpreting this particular passage in *Quadragesimo Anno* somewhat differently. In the absence of an authoritative decision to the contrary, surely they ought to be permitted the liberty of disagreeing with Father Kelly and his associates in ACTU. And nobody's feelings ought to be hurt in the process. It goes without saying, of course, that ACTU, in turn, ought to be perfectly free to stick to its own opinion. This is a big country, and what may be best for metropolitan New York may not be practical at all in other cities and other regions. Or so it seems to many of the priests and laymen who are working in these other areas. Father Kelly is undoubtedly acquainted with some of these good people and is familiar with their point of view.

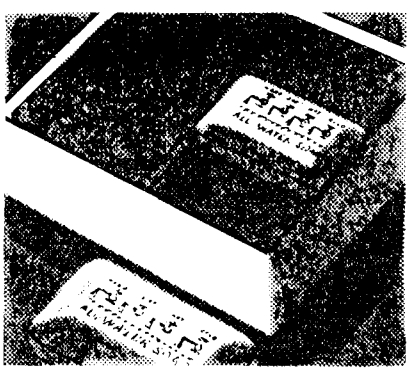
4.) As for myself—if, indeed, I am to be labeled as a "critic" of ACTU—may I merely suggest, with the best of good will, that Father Kelly is taking the matter just a little too seriously. He is taking it much more seriously than a host of others holding membership and positions of authority in ACTU. The so-called "critics" of ACTU are resented principally by the New York chapter of ACTU and to a much lesser degree, if at all, by Detroit and some of the other units. Why this should be so, I frankly do not know, but I think it pertinent to

B. ALTMAN & CO.
FIFTH AVENUE NEW YORK

SALE

ALTMAN
ALL-WATER SOAP

NOW, DOZEN 1.65
REGULARLY 2.00



Our popular all-water soap that lathers quickly in hot, cold, hard or soft water . . . box of 12 large bath cakes. White (lilac), blue (jasmine), yellow (verbena), light green (bouquet), dark green (pine), peach (rose). Or a box of assorted fragrances . . . not including pine.

Altman toiletries, main floor

. . . and at East Orange, White Plains and Manhasset

Mail and phone (MU. 9-7000) orders filled on purchases over 2.00, exeluding tax

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

recall, if only for the sake of the record: a.) that Father Cronin's book has been praised very lavishly by the chaplain of one of the other ACTU chapters; b.) that the present writer has frequently encountered a positive and very friendly eagerness on the part of the Detroit chapter to debate the issues which Father Kelly discusses with a chip on his shoulder. The difference in viewpoint between the various chapters of ACTU is a subject which deserves to be treated in a separate article—preferably by members of the respective units.

The fact of the matter is that I, for one, have never met a single priest anywhere in the United States who is so "critical" of ACTU as to merit the criticism which Father Kelly levels—mistakenly, as it happens—against my colleague, Father Cronin. Furthermore, I most assuredly have never been aware at any time of a "whispering campaign" against ACTU. Father Kelly is a little too suspicious.

The typical Catholic "critic" of ACTU—*if* there is such a critter—has nothing but admiration for ACTU, but he reserves the right to think, as I do myself, that there are certain dangers, over the long haul, in the direct approach which Father Kelly defends so persuasively. All of these so-called "critics" of ACTU may be dead wrong. Time alone will tell. But if they are all to be silenced—and they *can* be silenced, for no one likes to argue with his friends if he senses beforehand that they're going to be offended personally by the argument—ACTU itself will be the principal loser.

In conclusion, may I add that I have referred more people to ACTU headquarters than I can shake a stick at. Every inquiry about ACTU which is received at our office is referred immediately to ACTU headquarters in New York. We take every opportunity to advertise ACTU newspapers and publications (every American Catholic owes it to himself to read them regularly). And we recommend to every interested caller that he make it his business to visit ACTU headquarters. These things we shall continue to do, for we have the highest regard for ACTU and its officers and chaplains. But, please—can't we occasionally disagree and still be friends? This is a free country.

Rev. GEORGE G. HIGGINS.

Pittsburgh, Pa.

TO the Editors: I think Father Kelly was a little hard on Father Cronin in your last issue. For another magazine I reviewed Father Cronin's book quite favorably and did not notice anything unfriendly or too left-handedly laudatory in the discussion of ACTU.

ACTU is an activity that does not appeal to everyone. Some of the finest people with the best motives are rather jumpy on the subject of ACTU. For my part I have refrained from taking after the faint-hearted having my hands full with the real enemy (Commies, etc.).

Many people find it hard to be enthused over the rough and tumble tactics that we Pittsburghers and some others feel it necessary to use on the Comrades, but every man to his own taste I say.

Your marathon controversy on Christian Industrialism may find a parallel in a running battle over ACTU. In passing let me say that I noticed the apostles of sweetness and light get very nasty in a controversy and rough house (including thumbing and kidney punching) much more than the hard-boiled realists.

Rev. CHARLES OWEN RICE.

The Stage & Screen

Kiss Me, Kate

WHETHER it may have been due to holiday hilarity, or to the hubbub of the most excited house I have ever seen, or simply to the fact of one good night's sleep out of ten, I must record my impression of the current Cole Porter as a superlative show. It is nice to look at, nice to listen to, and often very funny indeed. Certainly, through the years in this column, there has been sufficient haggling over the size of musicals. And it must be conceded at once that *Kate* is not small; but she is not gigantic either, and I should say that her every component gives evidence of style. I judge the reason for this interesting phenomenon to lie in the unwonted fact that the movers of the business have seen fit to supply a plausible book. The combination of Saint Subber and Lemuel Ayers (producers), and Bella and Samuel Spewack (authors), and John C. Wilson (director), has produced a rather simple arangement of double-play on Shakespeare's *Shrew*. As this works out, an acting company on the verge of appearing in the Shakespearean piece develops the same situation both before and behind its interior footlights. The leading man and lady storm and squabble as thoroughly in their dressing-rooms as on their stage, and a rather intricate addition of a gambling debt projects a pair of vaudeville racketeers in ridiculous gear in and out of the sixteen scenes. It's all as silly as that, but done into the elegant pomp and swirl of the Ayers costumes and sets, and most ably sung and danced by the company, it is a joy to watch.

Moreover, the occasion is aptly carpentered to Cole Porter's especial talents. As a lyricist, Mr. Porter's schemes are always right out of Walker's rhyming dictionary, but he does make his selections with wit and precision; and in this fandango, he has as much fun with the archaic language as he does with the up-to-date. And he has obviously had fun with all of the tunes. My only criticism will be that the latter half of the show is delivered over to him entirely. There are too many of his usual long solos (perhaps more filled with innuendos than is strictly necessary), and there is too little of the plot.

For players, Mr. Wilson has cast astutely. As both Petruchio and the Actor, Alfred Drake sings and declaims with equal skill. Mr. Drake has developed a disarming and delightful quality of humor which will, I imagine, treble his fan-mail as this show rolls on and on. Patricia Morrison, in the rôle of his Shrew, comes across as a brunette version of Maria Jeritza combined

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

with Joyce Redman. I loved her hurling the pewter all about, and her voice is fine. Lisa Kirk impressed me more as Bianca than as the straight Ingenue of the piece, but this may be the result of the enchanting floral headdress Mr. Ayers has designed for her in the first circumstance. All the rest are in order, although I think a special word must be added for Hanya Holm's choreography and for the number of gay dumb-shows and harliquinades scattered throughout. This is a surprising Broadway evening. I shouldn't miss it. (*at the New Century*).

The Rape of Lucretia

IT WAS certainly my responsibility, as a determined critic, to have purchased one of the Ronald Duncan librettos to this Benjamin Britten opera on the night of my attendance. However, I neglected to do so, and I can only shamefully state in excuse a sort of creeping stupefaction which overcame me steadily during the doings. Mr. Duncan's lines are in English, but even so, I am inestimably grateful to Virgil Thomson for having recorded their pith in his column in the *Herald Tribune*. The theme, Mr. Thomson says, "is that rape requires co-operation from the raped and is therefore a form of unchastity. Also, unchastity, it seems, justifies suicide." Shakespeare of course was simpler than this. But insofar as I could understand Mr. Duncan's words, there seemed to me to be even more of complexity than Mr. Thomson admits. There was, I think, an elongated Christian Message, sung by the Narrators at the close of the piece; and throughout, there were prolonged references to the Etruscans which I only partially gathered. The chief stylistic problem of the work were the recitatives with which it is crammed. As these are in the language, one must strain to understand them; but when one does understand them, the situation too often becomes ludicrous. When a horizontal woman, at the point of attack, must lean toward an audience and carefully chant, "What do you want?" I don't honestly know what said audience can be expected to do, beyond rendering a boff, and leaving en masse. And when this type of non-action is dealt out in a series of promoted sets by the painter, John Piper—sets which only approximate and never challenge Eugene Berman's work in this country; and furthermore, when Agnes deMille's staging necessarily consists only of tableaux and postures—I find I can choose only one plain adjective to describe the proceedings: pretentious. It is true that a careful combing of the reviews of the music experts leads one to believe that such melodic and orchestral felicities as exist in the Britten work will surely come to light when the score is divorced from its halting libretto. But needless to say, this process will never result in an opera. That my own particular music-master emerged into the raining night singing "Mother, Mother, are you there?" from the *Medium,* is probably in itself the most considered comment I can offer; together with the suggestion that the story of Lucrece had better henceforth be left in the hands of the poet. (*At the Ziegfeld*)

Don't Listen, Ladies

M. SACHA GUITRY is well known. He has always worn a *Fédora*—of late, one hears, with a swastika attached. There is nothing new about his present infinitesimal exposition of sex in anytime Paris, unless it should be the suave and graceful comportment of Jack Buchanan in the leading rôle. Nevertheless, this bit of stale méringue struck me as twice as honest and twice as realistic as John Van Druten's current *Lucia.* It pretends nothing and at least spares us the baby-talk. (*At the Booth*) KAPPO PHELAN.

Mind Your Psyche

STEEL YOURSELF for another group of psychological films. Obviously Hollywood means to continue the trend for some time, but it must be said right off that if the 1949 delvings into psychosomatic functions are as good as these three entries that start the year, we can't complain too much.

The heroine of *"The Accused"* is a college professor of psychology but it is unfortunate that she does not know as much about law as she does about what makes people tick. One night, while trying to help a student who is badly in need of help along psychological lines as he soon exhibits by attacking his teacher, she defends herself against his advances, and in the defense she accidentally kills the young man. Afraid that her position and reputation will be hurt, she tries to cover up; and putting her knowledge of psychology to use, she successfully fools the police and others involved in the case. It would be entirely unfair to tell how she finally gets tangled in her own web of lies, because "The Accused" is a first-rate thriller. Its obvious weakness lies in the professor's mistaken ideas

AN EXHIBITION OF RELIGIOUS
SCULPTURE
sponsored by the
LITURGICAL ARTS SOCIETY, INC.
A Statue Project of the Society
JANUARY 12 - FEBRUARY 10
DEMOTTE GALLERY
39 East 51 Street, New York

4th Wk! PIERRE FRESNAY as
ST. VINCENT DE PAUL in
MONSIEUR VINCENT
THEATRE PARTIES CAN NOW BE ARRANGED
AVENUE PLAYHOUSE 6th Ave. & 47th St. PL. 7-4295 55th ST. PLAYHOUSE Nr. 7th Ave. CO. 5-9433

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

about justice and truth; but William Dieterle has directed Ketti Frings' script exceedingly well, and the whole piece has a frightening build-up that carries you from one exciting scene to the next, until you are as scared as the unstrung professor. Loretta Young does a good job with this role that requires a change in outward personality from the spinsterish-looking teacher type to the more feminine clinging vine. She is admirably supported by Robert Cummings as the victim's uncle who comes to her defense, Wendell Corey as the police lieutenant who plays cat-and-mouse with the professor and succeeds in adding some wry humor without burlesquing the law, Douglas Dick as the evil young man, Sam Jaffe as Corey's assistant who manages to give the harassed heroine some very unhappy moments. Although one may deplore this heroine's attitude toward the law, the movie as a whole is psychologically sound and will give your reflexes quite a workout.

So will *"The Dark Past,"* which is another thriller about a psychology professor and crime. But in this well made picture, the professor is definitely on the side of the law; in fact at the film's opening he is a psychiatric social worker whose job is to treat and rehabilitate juvenile delinquents. He relates the main plot in a lengthy flashback to prove his point that many delinquents are sick, mentally and emotionally, and need treatment more than punishment. One night many years ago when the professor was with his family and guests at a house in the country, an escaped convict barged in with his gang and took over the place. How the psychologist discovered this killer's weakness, his fear of insanity, and the events of his childhood that led to his becoming a criminal make fascinating film fare. And Director Rudolph Maté has displayed this material (stemming from James Warwick's play "Blind Alley") very well, both from the psychological point of view and as a suspense movie that will keep you on the edge of your chair. The story is a little crowded with incidental characters whose motivations detract from the main themes, but the leads are effectively portrayed; and Lee J. Cobb, as the psychologist, and William Holden, as the psychopathic criminal, turn in fine performances. It is unfortunate that this good film has one serious psychiatric mistake: the doctor does his psychoanalysis and brings about a cure during the course of one night. Actually a treatment of this kind would take many months, perhaps even years. So don't get any ideas from "The Dark Past" that you can slip in and out of an analyst's office as easily and painlessly as you go to a dentist.

"The Boy With Green Hair" could have been one of the best psychological pictures of the year: it has a fascinating script based on a charming short story by Betsy Beaton; and its good cast is well directed by Joseph Losey. But somewhere along the line this movie misses by trying to put over two messages, neither of which comes through too well. Nevertheless "The Boy With Green Hair" is a film to be seen. It attempts something different and it successfully visualizes a psychological concept without getting bogged down by jargon or Freud. It tells the story of a youngster who thinks he's unwanted. After wandering from relative to relative, he lands with Gramps, an elderly singing waiter who is kind to him. But one night, this boy's hair turns green; and a whole series of complications appear in this small town when the boy's school mates and Gramps' neighbors consider this phenomenon. The intolerance theme is well started at this point: "You wouldn't want *your* sister to marry a boy with green hair"—but alas, this theme gets mixed with an anti-war message. A bunch of orphans in a war poster come to life and tell the boy that his hair has a meaning, that it will attract people and he can tell them about the evil of war. Because Losey has directed the film in such an intelligently casual manner, its story is acceptable; Dean Stockwell and Pat O'Brien in the lead roles give genuinely stirring performances; and technicolor is used well. I wish the picture had been as carefully thought out in all departments; but in spite of flaws it will hold your interest from beginning to end—and the end itself is thrilling, when you suddenly realize that young Dean Stockwell has been in every scene and since he is telling this story to the police psychiatrist you don't know whether his hair really did turn green or whether he imagined the whole thing. But in any case it was an attention-getting device used to good purpose.

PHILIP T. HARTUNG.

The Labor Movement

Replacing the Taft-Hartley Act

REPEAL of the Taft-Hartley Act was one of the planks of the Democratic Party on which President Truman ran for re-election. In his opening message to the 81st Congress (a good message, by the way), the President showed that he meant to live up to that, and other, campaign pledges. The AFL and CIO applauded his remarks.

Even *Business Week* has broken down and admitted that the Taft-Hartley Act went too far, that it "conceivably could wreck the labor movement." It even shows you how it could wreck the labor movement.

So let's repeal the blamed thing, just for a starter. Then let's re-enact the Wagner Act. But should we stop there? Certainly we ought to do something about jurisdictional strikes, that is, strikes that are aimed more at a rival union than they are at the employer. Businessmen have a right to be protected against that kind of thing.

What else? Secondary boycotts should also be outlawed when their purpose is the same as that of the jurisdictional strike, namely, to force an employer to withdraw recognition from a union that has legally won the right to represent a group of workers, and shift it to another union that hasn't won that right. And strikes or lockouts over the interpretation of a contract should also be verboten.

In his message President Truman suggested such amendments to the Wagner Act. He further suggested

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

some machinery to "prevent strikes in vital industries which affect the public interest." What machinery? Ah, there's the rub. He hasn't told this writer, and this writer is perfectly frank to admit that he couldn't tell President Truman.

Some machinery is necessary, that much is clear. Anybody who says "no" should be sentenced to being President of the U. S. after the first three weeks of a coal strike that has been called by John L. Lewis, or after the first three days of a nation-wide railroad strike that has been called by almost anybody.

The problem is to protect the public and at the same time protect the workers' final right to strike if that is possible. Cooling-off periods and fact-finding boards are two devices that have been used with only moderate success under T-H and the Railway Mediation Act. The main trouble with these boards is that they do not always have the confidence of the workers. One sensible solution is to provide that both the unions and the employers should be given some say in picking the "public" members of the board, the ones that really write the recommendation.

Sound labor legislation must be concerned with protecting the union's rights (the Wagner Act did that, and for the first time), the employer's rights and the public's rights. But there is still another party to the deal and that is the individual worker. His rights too deserve a break.

Take an example: in the Bronx at this very moment there are five members of Local 32E, Building Service Employees, AFL, who are in fear of losing not only their jobs, but also their homes, because they have been critical of the union administration headed by Thomas F. Lewis. And if ever there was a union administration that lends itself to vigorous criticism, this is it. Wholesale intimidation, job discrimination, excessive dues, improper financial reports—these are some of the things that go on in 32E.

The men are apartment house superintendents, and their homes go with their jobs. Because apartment houses are not considered to be in interstate commerce, the Taft-Hartley Act does not apply. New York State law (the little Wagner Act) says that the union can insist that the men be discharged once they are expelled from the union. The union has already expelled them, but the courts put them back (thanks to the efforts of ACTU lawyer, John Harold) and now they must be tried again. The chances are that they will be expelled again. And in case you hadn't noticed, it's cold outside and empty apartments are still scarce as hen's teeth.

What about that kind of thing? That's not an isolated case by any means. It's only worse than most. Before the Taft-Hartley Act the ACTU ran into about a dozen such cases every year—cases that involved serious abuses by union officials of the power over the lives of their members that had been placed in their hands by the union shop.

The Taft-Hartley Act met this problem by providing that a worker could not be discharged, even in a union shop, for anything less than non-payment of dues. He might be expelled from the union, but his job was pro-

New Herder Publication

SECOND LATIN

by

CORA CARROLL SCANLON, A.M.
Milwaukee State Teachers College
and
CHARLES L. SCANLON, A.M.
Stephen F. Austin State College

$3.50

This second-year Latin course is intended for students who can devote only two years to the study of Latin and who must be prepared to read intelligently Latin textbooks of philosophy, theology, and canon law. The vocabularies, word studies, exercises, and connected passages have been selected with this practical purpose in mind. The first half of the book is based on philosophical texts; the second half is drawn from works of theology and from the Code of Canon Law. A vocabulary of 3,000 words at the end of the volume serves the purpose of a concise dictionary.

This new course supposes the previous study of the authors' *Latin Grammar*: Grammar, Vocabularies, and Exercises in Preparation for the Reading of the Missal and Breviary ($3.00), now in its fourth printing.

Order from your bookstore or from

B. HERDER BOOK CO. 15 & 17 So. Broadway, St. Louis 2, Missouri

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

"Shocking revelations of deception and treachery" —Cleveland News

THE RAPE OF POLAND
PATTERN OF SOVIET AGGRESSION

by STANISLAW MIKOLAJCZYK
Former Premier of Poland

Illustrated
$4.00 • at all bookstores

WHITTLESEY HOUSE

"HAVE YOU?"

Have you done your bit to help the Medical Missions? These appeals have been appearing for a long time in The Commonweal. Your check for $30 will send a Kit to a Missionary. The same sum will also provide a year's treatment of Diazone for some poor leper. Any part of this sum which you can send will be applied for this purpose.

Send Your Check to

The Reverend Edward F. Garesche, S.J.
Catholic Medical Mission Board,
10 W. 17 St., New York 11, N. Y.

tected. Despite the evil effect of T-H as a whole, in this corner at least that one provision is regarded as a simple and practical solution to a serious problem.

Critics of this provision have maintained that it protects Communists and troublemakers, company stooges and so on, people who for one reason or another want to break up the union or control it in the interests of anti-labor forces. Some of these critics have suggested that in order to guard against unjust expulsions labor courts be created, or labor boards be empowered, and required, to review such cases quickly.

If we don't want the T-H solution, then we've got to provide for the other one. Many of the labor leaders won't like it, but one way or another the government must protect the right of the individual union member to express himself freely in criticism of the men he has elected to serve his interests.

What good is political democracy if in those matters that strike even closer to home, a man is subjugated by what can sometimes be, quite literally, a vicious dictatorship? Men have been deprived of their jobs, of their homes, even of their lives by racketeers and others who look upon a union only as a source of wealth and power to feed their own bellies and their own egos. We don't have to be Poison-Pen Peglers to recognize that there is a shameful kernel of truth in what he and other anti-labor agitators have been saying.

Workingmen, even with the help of such outfits as the ACTU, can't clean these things up all by themselves. There comes a time and place when the protection of government is needed. Such a time and place is here.

JOHN C. CORT.

Books

Nathaniel Hawthorne. Robert Cantwell. Rinehart. $6.
The Portable Hawthorne. Malcolm Cowley. Viking. $2.

TWO DIFFERENT interpretations of Hawthorne emerge from these two books; a third from Randall Stewart's biography (reviewed in THE COMMONWEAL, Nov. 12); and doubtless a fourth will be found in Mark Van Doren's promised critical biography in the new American Men of Letters series. In a brilliant introduction to his selection of Hawthorne's writings, Malcolm Cowley observes that Hawthorne is "an endless study," and in the face of the evidence of recent months it is difficult not to agree. Margaret Fuller, who was as much drawn to Hawthorne as he was repelled by her, once remarked: "We have never had but a drop or two from that ocean." Their mutual friend Emerson agreed. But since writers on Hawthorne differ so widely on what he did produce, and on why and how, it is perhaps fortunate that the ocean never was released from the tensions created by Hawthorne's complex personality and by his New England environment.

For those who lack leisure for the "endless study" which Hawthorne really demands, brief characterizations of the three new books are in order. Randall Stewart, the leading Hawthorne scholar of our day, rather dryly

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

presents the biographical facts which he has found or verified in long years of research, and is hesitant about interpretation going beyond these facts. He repudiates, however, the traditional picture of Hawthorne as a solitary, haunted Puritan, pointing out that solitude is necessary for writing and that otherwise Hawthorne led a normal social life. Robert Cantwell, the former literary editor of *Time,* dramatizes Hawthorne as "a great writer and a great man, leading an active and vigorous life of considerable excitement and some hazard." He explains the mysteriousness of Hawthorne's early life by the unproved theory that he was a Treasury secret agent. Cantwell spreads a somewhat undigested mass of facts, color, and interpretation over 450 pages of a biography which covers Hawthorne's life only to the writing of *The Scarlet Letter* (a second volume, dealing with the later years, is seemingly to follow).

Malcolm Cowley has produced an eminently successful selection of Hawthorne's stories, novels, journals, and letters, drawing upon the resources of the latest scholarship; and in some thirty-five pages of editorial introduction and notes provides the most cogent—though overly Freudian—interpretation to be found in the three books. His volume is the best introduction for those new to Hawthorne and the best refresher for those who read Hawthorne too young or too long ago. Cantwell's book is largely for those who demand colorful reading and are unfamiliar with the period and the subject. Stewart's is for scholars more concerned with facts than with the values in whose name the facts are sought.

MASON WADE.

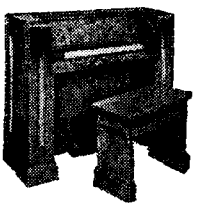
The Letters of Edgar Allan Poe. Edited by John Ward Ostrom. 2 vols. Harvard. $10.00.

THE LABORS of Poe beneath the dull oppression of his times were solitary and demonic. I have tried to suggest in a more leisurely essay in this magazine (July 18, 1947), what violence was seething there and how important its place is in the background of modern literature. It should not be shocking that these letters—available at last in a definitive edition, and scrupulously and neatly annotated—reveal as much as they do of the sullenness with which Poe as a human being bore the weight of his vocation. That fierce purity which found so few moments of release even in the poetry ran its swollen course now in this direction and now in that, distorting all his relationships and intentions with some sort of inhuman urgency.

I use the word "inhuman" advisedly. It would be easy to say that the "human" side of Poe shows through these letters—these melodramatic efforts to squeeze more money out of a guardian, these schemes for establishing new magazines, these obvious bargainings for literary positions, these distracted defenses and attacks. But only in their moments of complete helplessness are they anything but *in*human. The poetry—in a new active sense well-known to the modern world since the lives of Poe, Rimbaud, and Baudelaire—is always there, making its demands and feeding on everything human. The earliest letters, the ones to his guardian John Allen, reflect in the mere boy the morbid ambition, the blinded self-dramatization, and the beginnings of every other kind of distortion of the daylight world. The other letters only follow the pattern. They excommunicate offending reviewers, solicit help for Poe's various enterprises, suggest to friends what

"SING UNTO HIM a New Song" —PSALMS 33:3

Schulmerich CARILLONIC BELLS

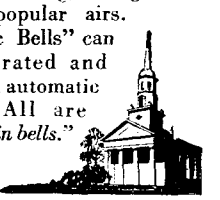


FLEMISH TYPE

The latest, most modern concert instrument of 37 to 61 bells. Capable of unlimited harmony and expression. Can be sounded inside as organ bells, or outside as tower bells. *The world's finest carillon.*

ENGLISH TYPE

The *newest* melody bells in 1 to 25 rich, sonorous notes. Unequalled for calling, tolling, hymns and popular airs. All "Carillonic Bells" can be clock-operated and played through automatic roll-player. All are your *"best buy in bells."*



Write SCHULMERICH ELECTRONICS, Inc. SELLERSVILLE, PA., DEPT. CW-91

IMMACULATA JUNIOR COLLEGE Washington, D. C.

An accredited Catholic Institution for Women. Sisters of Providence of St. Mary-of-the-Woods. Resident and Day Students. 2 year transfer course in Liberal Arts. Terminal courses in Home Crafts, Secretarial Science, General, Fine Arts.

SEMINARY—Four Year College Preparatory. Dunblane Hall—Grades 1 to 8. Address: The Secretary.

SCHOOL OF SACRED THEOLOGY

for Sisters and Lay-women

SAINT MARY'S COLLEGE, NOTRE DAME

Box 11, Holy Cross, Indiana

Prerequisites: A degree of Bachelor of Arts; A reading knowledge of Latin

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

words they might use to praise him in their articles, and threaten as a last resort, but frequently and with all the devices of the opera, the imminence of his death. From the beginning to the end, their tone is almost always urgency. Whether the letters deal with love or business, they are ridden by Poe's *daimonos*.

These letters are a great distance from the poems, but there is no real contradiction between the Poe of the *Broadway Journal* and the Poe of the *Tales*. The one world was not for a poet, the other was not for a man; and Poe remained in them—in each for the sake of the other—until he was consumed by both.

HENRY RAGO.

F.D.R—His Personal Letters. Vol. II (1905-1928). *Edited by Elliott Roosevelt. Duell.* $5.00.

DURING this period Mr. Roosevelt's letters were on the impersonal, surface side. His accounts of his European honeymoon, for instance, are devoid of any real personal reaction or comment on the many things he saw. His letters from Washington, where he was serving as Assistant Secretary of the Navy during the first World War, have more to say about the unbearable summer heat than anything else. Interest quickens mostly toward the end of this volume in the editor's and his own account of his battle with infantile paralysis and his rise to prominence on the national political scene. It is curiosity about the man himself—sympathetic or otherwise—which sustains the reader here, grateful for whatever crumbs of revealing information sift through the mammoth pile of everyday comment which accumulates in these six hundred pages. The fact that the Roosevelt household received wide notice in the first war for instituting home food-saving methods reveals that it included 7 Roosevelts and 10 servants. And the mere listing of places, persons and experiences involved in this period of Mr. Roosevelt's life demonstratess what a broad background prepared him for taking the helm at a time when foreign relations were to be so preeminent. Uninspiring as they are individually, these letters and the editor's running comment do add up to quite a picture of the man.

E.S.S.

Made in America. John A. Kouwenhoven. Doubleday. $5.00.

WHILE THIS very readable book has a value of its own it may be said to follow the pattern established by those of Mr. Lewis Mumford, in which he presented art as an integrated element in civilization and as a resultant of religious, social and industrial factors. While Mr. Mumford's approach has usually been from the broader field of the international, historic, scene, the limitation of Mr. Kouwenhoven's book to American life and art gives it a value that is detached from other preceding books of a like kind. It has the merit of having specific and relatively detailed relationship to American life and experience.

The value of any book of this kind is determined more by the author's perceptive understanding than by what is normally considered scholarship. In the main, and particularly in the field of painting, such perceptive understanding is gratifyingly evident. As much cannot be said for the portions in which he discusses the unique, creative, phases of American architecture.

In that case, the treatment is cursory and without evidence of sufficient appreciation of architecture as such. It then becomes largely a record of the surface matter of appearance, whereas the vital, architecturally energizing quality of Frank Lloyd Wright's building plans is not given its place. As these plans are basic to contemporary architecture, the failure to relate the current architecture to them or explain the source of the idea of those plans in American life constitutes an inadequacy that reduces the value of an otherwise stimulating and valuable book.

BARRY BYRNE

New Directions 10. *Edited by J. Laughlin. New Directions.* $4.50.

THIS VOLUME is described on the jacket as "An Annual Exhibition of New and Divergent Trends in Modern Letters," which is exactly what it is, a grab-bag of themes and styles in prose and poetry which leaves the reader wondering whether or not life today is really so disordered, so unharmonious, so chaotic, as this collection would lead him to believe. Not that there aren't good things in it—Evelyn Waugh's discerning criticism of Hollywood would in itself justify the book—but what is so disconcerting is the fact that the anthology has no direction. Perhaps one should not complain, since "New Directions" clearly implies that any reasonably good novelty might find its way into it. Inevitably, there is much of an experimental nature here, much written by writers as yet obscure who some day may command the limelight. Among already established names, apart from that of Evelyn Waugh, may be mentioned James Agee, Paul Bowles, Alex Comfort, Paul Goodman, Carson McCullers, Robert Payne (whose exquisite *Forever China* will be remembered), Isaac Rosenfeld, Peter Viereck, Tennessee Williams. All told, there is a vexing variety here of good, bad and indifferent. But the reader who does not mind gambling will find nuggets here among the quartz.

JOHN COURNOS.

The Penal Colony. Franz Kafka. Shocken. $3.00.

HERE ARE all the stories and short pieces that Kafka approved for publication before he died—"The Metamorphasis," "The Penal Colony," travel pieces, and several others. Max Brod has grouped these previously published works into one volume, and for anyone who has never ventured into Franz K.'s symbolic world, this book is an excellent beginning.

CONTRIBUTORS

Lily DOBLHOFF, of Paris, France, is a correspondent for "La Liberte" and other Swiss papers; she was formerly diplomatic correspondent for Hungarian and Austrian periodicals, and has been a foreign correspondent in Rome and, during the war, in Free France.

Lafe Franklin ALLEN is a former Detroit newspaperman and was for ten months a member of the U. S. military government in Japan. At present he is with the Washington bureau of the United Press.

Mason WADE of Vermont is the author of "The Journals of Francis Parkman" and other historical works.

Henry RAGO is a poet and critic who teaches in the Department of Humanities at the University of Chicago.

Barry BYRNE is a noted American architect.

John COURNOS is a critic, essayist and short story anthologist.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Educational Directory

PREP SCHOOLS—RHODE ISLAND

PORTSMOUTH PRIORY SCHOOL

Portsmouth, Rhode Island. 23 miles from Providence, 8 miles from Newport, on inland waters of Narragansett Bay. Conducted by American Monks of the English Benedictine Congregation, assisted by Lay Masters. Five forms, 8th grade and four years of high school. Standard Preparatory Course for all colleges and technical schools. Added opportunities in Mathematics and Languages. College Board Examination. Full facilities for athletics including sailing. Address Secretary.

NEW JERSEY

DELBARTON SCHOOL

Morristown, New Jersey. An hour's drive from the George Washington Bridge or Holland Tunnel. A country day and boarding school for boys conducted by Benedictine Monks. Six forms, comprising the 7th and 8th grades and four years of college preparatory courses. Small classes. Thorough guidance department. Complete athletic program. Write for prospectus to the Headmaster.

OHIO

GILMOUR ACADEMY

Gates Mills (Cleveland), Ohio. A Resident Preparatory School for Boys. Conducted by The Brothers of Holy Cross, Notre Dame, Ind. Situated in the picturesque Chagrin Valley in suburban Cleveland, enjoying the facilities afforded by the city's libraries, galleries and museums. Distinctive rural-home atmosphere. 133 acre campus. Educational, cultural, and physical training programs. Fully accredited four year college preparatory course offered. Classes limited to 15 students Brother Theophane Schmitt, C.S.C., Headmaster.

COLLEGE—MEN—RHODE ISLAND

PROVIDENCE COLLEGE

A Liberal Arts College

for Men.

Conducted by

The Dominican Fathers.

Providence, R. I.

COLLEGES—WOMEN—NEW YORK

COLLEGE OF MT. ST. VINCENT

Mount St. Vincent-on-Hudson, New York 63, N. Y. Conducted by the Sisters of Charity. Offers A.B. and B.S. Degrees, Liberal Arts, Nursing, Commerce Education, Pedagogy. Accredited by the Association of American Universities. Campus bordering Hudson River. One-half hour from Grand Central, New York City. Write for Bulletin L.

PENNSYLVANIA

ROSEMONT COLLEGE

Rosemont, Pa. A Catholic College for Women conducted by the Religious of the Society of the Holy Child Jesus. Accredited by the Association of American Universities. Situated on the Main Line of the Pennsylvania Railroad. Eleven miles from Philadelphia. Address the Registrar for information. Telephone Bryn Mawr 4514.

COLLEGE MISERICORDIA

Dallas, Pennsylvania. A Residential and Day College for Higher Education of Women, conducted by the Sisters of Mercy of the Union—incorporated under the laws of the State of Pennsylvania, empowered to confer Degrees — A.B., B.S. in Science, B.S. in General Home Economics, B. Mus., B.S. in Secretarial Science, and Teacher-Training. Fully accredited. Address the Dean or Registrar.

MARYLAND

COLLEGE OF NOTRE DAME OF MARYLAND

North Charles St., Baltimore, Maryland. An Accredited Catholic Institution for the Higher Education of Women. Conducted by the School Sisters of Notre Dame. Exceptional Advantages. For information address the Registrar.

ILLINOIS

ROSARY COLLEGE

River Forest, Illinois. Conducted by the Dominican Sisters of Sinsinawa, Wisconsin. Approved by the Association of American Universities. Liberal Arts, Home Economics, Library Science. Library School accredited by American Library Association. Foreign Study Branch for Junior Year Abroad at Fribourg, Switzerland.

MINNESOTA

COLLEGE OF SAINT TERESA

Winona, Minnesota. For the Higher Education of Catholic Women. Holds membership in the North Central Association of Colleges. Accredited by the Association of American Universities. Registered for Teacher's License by New York Board of Regents. Degrees of Bachelor of Arts, Bachelor of Science, Bachelor of Science in Nursing. A standardized Conservatory of Music is maintained in connection with the college. Picturesquely located on the upper Mississippi. One hundred acre campus. Served by the "Zephyr," "Hiawatha," "The 400."

Classified

★ Rate for your message, 10c a word. 75c a line for displayed copy. Discounts: 5% for 3 times, 10% for 7 times, 15% for 13 times.

BOOKS

★ Books: Used, Old Rare.
For Librarians, Collectors, Readers.
Huge Stock. Reasonably Priced.
Catalogs Free. Browsers Invited.
Want Lists Solicited. Libraries Purchased.
DAUBER & PINE BOOKSHOPS, INC.
66 Fifth Avenue, New York 11, N. Y.

HOTEL

★ COPLEY PLAZA HOTEL
Maurice T. Lawler, *General Manager*
Boston 16, Mass.
2 minutes from Back Bay R. R. Station

IRISH BOOKS AND GIFTS

★ Books, Linens, Gifts. *Catalogs.*
IRISH INDUSTRIES DEPOT, Inc.
876 Lexington Ave. (near 65th), New York

RESEARCH

★ RESEARCH SERVICE FOR WRITERS speakers, scholars, business men; surveys, memoranda, single questions, bibliography, etc.
LIBRARY REFERENCE SERVICE
Box 1641, Washington 13, D. C.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

New Printing!

(Not Revised)

The CATHOLIC ENCYCLOPEDIA DICTIONARY

A compendium of the 15 volumes of the Encyclopedia in one volume. Compiled and edited under the direction of the editors of The Catholic Encyclopedia.

1. Every subject in Religion, Scripture, Doctrine, Morals, Worship.
2. The Church in every country, dioceses, centers, missions; the hierarchy, clergy, religious orders; Church societies; lay organizations, sects, the various Churches, false religions.
3. Historical events and persons, saints, popes, prelates, priests, celebrated men and women.
4. Popular explanation of subjects in philosophy, psychology, education, ethics, sociology and political science, with which religion is concerned.
5. Arts which have served and derived inspiration from religion: painting, architecture, sculpture, music, literature; artists and authors.
6. The relation of science with religion through notable Catholics and other Christians prominent as scientists.

VALUED BY THOSE OF Every Denomination

From a Public Library:
"Already our public has made very much use of your grand book. It has helped some to understand better the Catholic religion and also the Protestant."

1104 pages
7¼ x 10¼ inches
1¾ inches thick

$6.25 postpaid

Department CE
THE COMMONWEAL
386 Fourth Ave., New York 16, N. Y.

Please send me a copy of The Catholic Encyclopedia Dictionary for which I enclose $6.25 (postpaid—N. Y. City residents add 12c sales tax) □.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED